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TODAY AND TOMORROW

From Capitalism to Socialism. Marx's "Das Kapital" Condensed Into Ten Paragraphs. Being Flashlight Number 7. By George E Littlefield, Westwood, Massachusetts.

CAPITALISM—A VAMPIRE SYSTEM

UNDER capitalism, labor of brain and hand—human life-power—is a mere commodity. The world's workers are wage slaves, compelled to sell time portions of themselves in the auction marts of competition to master bidders, lowering their price in the rivalry for jobs—for the opportunity to live—until it is just enough to equal the bare cost of living and reproduction—The iron law of wages.

2. Human labor, applied to natural resources, creates all value.

3. The unpaid portion of labor is surplus value or capital, with which the exploiting capitalists become masters of land, buildings, machinery and raw material—all the means of production and distribution that labor depends upon for existence—therefore masters also of the wage-slaves.

4. The withholding of this surplus value from labor prevents the exploited workers from buying or consuming but a fraction of their full product—hence periodic over-production and consequent "hard times," ever becoming more severe and chronic, until finally the whole capitalistic system must smother in its own "prosperity."

5. Capitalism is a vampire system. While it absorbs the labor and life of the competitive wage-slaves, the competing capitalist masters, preying upon one another, destroy each other until thus we have but a few monster vampires sucking the last dregs of vitality from a vastly increased proletariate, and finally comes the crisis—the sin of wageism is death—the collapse of the capitalist system. Labor unions and fake legislation for the strangling little capitalists (like impotent railroad-control law) may paliate and prolong the present agony for a brief time, but the end is fatally doomed as is the diseased person who will not cut out his life absorbing cancer. The huge modern plutocratic parasites, inflating with interest, rent and profits, must finally expire with the death of what they feed upon—wageism. So the vampire patricians of ancient Rome sapped the plebeian and slave basis of their economic system and the Empire fell in 476.

6. No system of civilization can advance or live when a feasting, reveling class drinks from the toilers' veins while riding on their backs. The knell of its own death is now being rung by capitalism which hypocritizes religion; perverts morality; makes the law unjust; prostitutes education; promotes war; corrupts politics; practices robbery, swindling and gambling as business; betrays friendship; sends love out street-walking and makes marriage mercenary; calls attic lodgings, slum cellars, corporation shacks and hobo hovels "homes;" offers little children to the Moloch of commercialism, and in the mad scramble for its dope incentive—dollars—it materializes the rich, vulgarizes the well-to do and brutalizes the poor. Such is the result of the economic determinism of capitalism.

SOCIALISM—TO SAVE THE WORLD

7. All the same, when capitalism forced wageism to bear its con-comitant disease and nurture its seed of death, it also compelled the people for self-preservation to obtain the ballot and the form of democracy, thus providing labor with the means of eradicating the disease and become free from its incubus, even gave labor the very principle of collectivism and co-operation which is to supplant individual competition and evolve into Socialism. As capitalism, by the inevitable law of economics, ruthlessly overthrew feudalism, (as feudalism before that displaced slavery), so Socialism is preparing to grasp its opportunity at the near crisis and establish the Co-operative Commonwealth. Labor, long prostrate and enslaved, is at last arising, enlightened and armed with its collective intellectual, industrial, political power, to save itself and the world!

8. This is the great mission of Socialists. Their motto is:

> "WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE! YOU HAVE NOTHING BUT YOUR CHAINS TO LOOSE AND A WORLD TO WIN."

Had Christianity been equal to its opportunity in 476—had its eyes been turned from the sky and its forces organized to establish the Kingdom of Heaven on earth—the world need not have passed through the dreary Dark Age.

9. Labor, today, trained in the vast industrial armies of capitalism and disciplined in the unions (Socialists are finishing this education) and given the trusts for a model, together with the political form necessary, is preparing to socialize the ownership of the land, the shop, the machine, etc., as the operation of these has already been socialized in economic evolution, and will carry the trustification of industry to its ultimate stage of a universal trust in which all the People are partners and their own collective capitalist. First came the single working proprietor, then partnership in business, then the corporation or partnership of groups of partners, then the trust or partnership of corporations, and now finally must come the merging of the trusts into the grand public partnership—The People's Trust or Socialism.

10. Socialism is the ownership and operation of all the means of production and distribution that are social and public in their nature, by the people, for the people. It means the tools of employment shall belong in common to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall cease; that we shall all be workers together, and that all opportunities shall be open and equal to all. Socialism is the democratization of industry—fulfilling our religious, educational, social and political democracy. It means the application of the Golden Rule in business, peace on earth good will among men; for through it we shall federate the nations into a United States of the World and realize the Brotherhood of Man.

TURNING THE WORLD UPSIDE DOWN

A LETTER FROM A RETIRED MINISTER, EIGHTY YEARS OLD

My Dear Comrade:—As we have watched the progress of events for the past few years many of us have come to feel that we are not really moving the world towards Socialism, but that the world is moving Socialism towards us. The Mine Owners' and Citizens' Alliance, the Republican Peabody, with his hired thugs and that aggregation of ecclesiastical stupidity, all of Colorado, no doubt think they are fighting Socialism, but these men, and men of the same caliber all over the civilized world, will wake up to find that their heartless and relentless stupidity is really sending hot shot into the very system which they seek to uphold.

Thousands, like a near neighbor of mine, are saying Socialism has many good things about it, but human nature will have to be changed before they can be realized. This is simply a misapprehension, but like thousands of others, it is in some degree self-corrective. You do not feel that it is necessary to look an intelligent man in the face and gravely tell him that two and two make four. Even if the problem reaches a little further than that your judgment tells you it will be wise to let him wrestle it out by himself.

You ask, "Precisely what are the ethical ideals which are emerging in the minds of the workers?" O! that I had the gift to tell. If you mean by this to ask what are all the wild schemes with which ambition and selfishness and ignorance would overload this world-wide movement, it might take a thousand men to answer the question. Many of these ideas have little or no claim to notice, and really so little of Socialistic life about them that like dead leaves they will of themselves drop from the living tree. These fads we can let alone; it would be fool's work to try to kill them.

All that we can really hope to do is to seek for the foundation, leaving the rest for clearer heads and younger and stronger hands; I confess that for several years I have thought a little on this subject, but we here enter a field where all must make haste slowly.

The peculiar relations which men of all classes, all over the civilized world, have been coming irresistibly to hold to each other, have forced thinking men of all nations towards some form of Socialism. These conditions have come among all people to be the forerunners of Socialist convictions, more or less perfect according to the moral and intellectual culture of the mass. Ignorance and stupidity could never have developed these conditions. It is no doubt true that a certain level of intellectual and moral culture is indispensable to the healthy growth of Socialist ideals. We should realize fully that Socialism is not a new thing, any more than the gold just dug from the mine is new.

We did little to help its coming. We could do less to check it. It is here to stay. The Democratic and Republican papers have been "dodging all over the woods" to keep out of the way of saying anything about Socialism. The Editors of our great dailies have been skulking into all sorts of corners lest they should be forced to note Socialism as in their way. It may be you have not noted how the average minister has for the past months been turning all sorts of sharp corners in his prayers and sermons lest he run up against Socialism or Co-operation.

We have in Colorado only one illustration of what exists in some form all over the civilized world. We shall be utterly unable to get beyond these conditions. The forces now at work embrace all that we are, or may ever be. At the same time it is certain that these conditions cannot exist long without turning all existing institutions upside down or inside out. We cannot say of this movement, thus far shalt thou go and no farther. We cannot fail to see that there is not an interest affecting humanity, at home or abroad, that is not concerned in this movement. The conditions of life everywhere are serving to make Socialists as the mill grinds out flour.

Without reference to what has been or what may be now in the religious world, the ethics of Socialism will shape themselves to the conditions of today. While thousands have been startled (it is to be hoped into thinking) by Mr. Thomas W. Lawson's somewhat dramatic revelations now running in a series of articles in Everybody's Magazine, the thoughtful Socialist sees in these articles only confirmation of convictions fully accepted it may be years ago. But this revelation may help thousands to realize, as they never have before, that we have not entered for a fight upon a few men or a class of men, but a fight upon a system that reaches from the billion dollar deal down, down to the five cent trade for a shoestring. The Socialist has not been peering into dark corners and raking over garbage heaps hoping to find something mean or vile with which to startle the world. But he has been thrown by no will or purpose of his own into this transitional period of life from which he cannot honorably escape without an earnest blow for humanity If his eyes are open to his surroundings he realizes that all the forces of his manhood will be required to honestly meet the demands of the hour.

Mr. Debs is reported as saying "Socialism is my religion." The significance of this utterance depends solely upon the point of view from which we see it. To some persons it will be meaningless. To others it will be irreverant trifling. But to others it is full of burning suggestions and is prophetic of coming conditions that will surely remold the social fabric from foundation to capstone.

The pivotal point in this whole movement is, no doubt, to be found in

THE COMMON BROTHERHOOD OF THE RACE

Whether we take this as the simple enunciation of the scientific Socialist or as the most far reaching utterance of the Nazerene, it may really matter very little in the end; for it is the one basic idea that is destined to unite all people of all ages to the end of time.

The Socialist, notwithstanding all the impelling forces driving him on, that he and his may live, and the humiliating contradictions in his life of which the present civilization makes him the helpless subject, finds written into his very being, "as with a pen of iron with lead in the rock for ever," that all-absorbing and fundamental ideal:—THAT HE HAS NO RIGHT TO BE IN ANY WAY A PARTY TO THOSE CONDITIONS OF SOCIETY WHICH DO NOT CONDUCE TO THE WELL-BEING OF THE ENTIRE RACE.

Now just think, my dear Comrade, that it is men standing on this platform and who draw the inspiration of their lives from this ideal, that the Romish church and the Protestant churches and the great Republican and Democratic parties propose to fight. "O! how are the mighty fallen! Tell it not in Gath! Publish it not in the streets of Askalon!"

Whatever the church may do in her zealously blind stupidity, it remains a settled fact that THE TRUE SOCIALIST CANNOT RECOGNIZE ANY REAL FIGHT WITH THE CHURCH. He sees her action today only as the kindergarten striking out in childish weakness against a higher grade. He finds that Christ had no fight with Judaism, but quietly submitted to the laws of his people to the end of his mission; though those laws were just passing away. Though he denounced the wickedness of the ruling classes of his people he never forgot that he was a Jew. His nation could crucify the Christ; they could not crucify his teachings. So men may fight what they imagine to be Socialism and they may grind the creations of their own imaginations to powder, but Socialism itself will remain as firm as the hills. Many things are labeled Socialism that have no life relation to the germinal idea; and we know that all these will cleave away in their own time.

The germinal idea out of which this whole system is to grow is as enduring as the eternal ages. We can reject Socialism as the germinal element in the future development of the human race only by closing our eyes to all the higher and purer ideals of humanity. But we are by no means to anticipate, or even hope for a moment, that the higher ideals of life are to be the fruitage of the immediate future. Christ taught us that the cleansing of the fountain must begin at the very foundation of the nature. We have been dabbling along the stream.

Whether we accept Socialism as a science, as a philosophical arrangement of the essential laws of life, or as a religious belief, it is quite certain that we face a new order of things in the religious world. Our ideals of a religious life from a Socialist standpoint will be in very many respects essentially new. These ideals will reach beyond and far outside of all our past conceptions of a religious life. This will seem to many persons strong language and very naturally will call for proof. But that proof will be forthcoming easily and fully to every one who has the courage to stop and think for himself.

If we are to accept the doctrine of our common brotherhood and make its profession no longer as in the past a mere FARCE; if we are henceforth in our entire life only to seek the common good of the whole race, then a new system of ethics must be accepted. Along some lines the accepted RIGHT of yesterday will be the wrong of to-day. WHERE THIS DOCTRINE OF A COMMON BROTHERHOOD LEADS, THE PEOPLE OF THE COMING AGES MUST GO. Whatever the civil law of today may say, the stolen horse can NEVER be ours. The ethical ideals of today are the outgrowth of ages.

(*Continued on Page 7*)

THE NEW EVANGELISM

Extracts from Prof. Walter Rauschenbusch's Article in the N. Y. Independent, May 12, 1904

[Professor Rauschenbusch is the head of the Department of Church History in Rochester Theological Seminary (Baptist). From 1886-97 he was pastor of a working people's church on West Side of New York City, where he shared the life of the working people and was deeply interested in social problems.]

The present interest in the "New Evangelism" is almost wholly an expression of dissatisfaction with the old evangelism, the waning power of which is generally conceded.

The Gospel of Christ is one and immutable; the comprehension and expression of it in history has been of infinite variety. No individual, no church, no age of history has ever comprehended the full scope of God's saving purposes in Jesus Christ. Neither has any proclaimed it without foreign admixtures that clogged and thwarted it. A fuller and purer expression of the evangel has therefore always been possible and desirable. It is on the face of it unlikely that the Gospel as commonly understood by us is the whole Gospel or a completely pure Gospel. It is a lack of Christian humility to assume that our Gospel and THE Gospel are identical.

When all other departments of life and thought are silently changing it is impossible for religion to remain unaffected. The Gospel, to have power over an age, must be the highest expression of the moral and religious truths held by that age. If the official wardens of the Gospel from selfish motives or from conservative veneration for old statements refuse to let the spirit of Christ flow into the larger vessels of thought and feeling which God himself has prepared for it, they are warned by finding men turn from their message as sapless and powerless.

We are today passing through an historical transition as thorough and important as any in history. The last 125 years have swept us through profound changes in every direction. We are emerging from the era of individualism. The principle of co-ordination, co-operation and solidarity is being applied in ever widening areas and is gaining remarkable hold on the spirit of men. The Church is applying that principle in its organization, but its message is still chiefly on the basis of individualism.

It is not strange if the message of the Church has failed to keep pace with a movement so rapid. But neither is it strange if humanity, amid the pressure of such new problems, fails to be stirred and guided by statements of truth that were adequate to obsolete conditions.—The Church is in the position of a mother talking to her son of seventeen, as if he were still twelve. What she says is good and loving but it is not what the boy with his new passions and problems needs.

The present paralysis of the churches affects all Western Christendom and only a cause co-terminous with modern civilization will explain it. Communities are affected in just the degree in which they are affected by the progress of civilization—the backward countries and rural communities least, the industrial cities most. State churches and free churches alike feel the drag. It is not because the religious spirit has failed. It runs surprisingly strong, but it runs largely outside of the churches. Neither is the trouble due to lack of piety in the ministry, for, on the whole we are as good as our fathers. We are told that the Gospel has always met with indifference and hostility. But is this to-day a persecution for righteousness' sake, so that Jesus would call us blessed for enduring it, or is it a case where the salt is trodden under foot of men, because it has lost its saltness?

The moral teaching of the Church in the past has dealt with private and family life. It has boldly condemned drunkenness, sexual impurity, profanity; it has fostered gentleness and pity, but the morality of the Church is not much more than what prudence, respectability and good breeding also demand. Nor is the morality of church members greatly distinguished by the glow of spiritual fervor.

When we pass from private and domestic life to political and business life the matter is worse. About the most pressing questions arising there the church as a body is dumb. It has nothing to say about the justice of holding land idle in crowded cities, of appropriating the unearned increment in land values, of paying wages fixed by the hunger of the laborers and taking the surplus of their output as "profits," or of cornering the market in the necessaries of life. It feels restless about some glaring evils like child-labor, but only moderately so. Individuals in the Church are intelligent and active, but the Church, both as an organized body and as a corporate spiritual force, is inert. The moral guide of humanity is silent where authoritative speech is today most needed.

One important and growing class in our population is largely alienated from the Church—namely, the industrial wage workers. The alienation is most complete where the industrial development under the capitalistic system has most completely run its course. In our country that alienation has begun within the last generation, during which this class has become a class, and the process is not yet complete. This constitutes the spiritual barrier to evangelistic efforts as soon as they go beyond the young people of the families already in the churches. Our evangelistic call strikes an invisible wall and comes back in hollow echoes. It is an untrue and cruel charge to say that the Church workers have not done their best to reach the people. The efforts of the churches in the great cities for the last generation have perhaps never been paralleled. And yet they are futile. This is one of the most stunning and heart-rending facts in all our life.

The Church has passed under the spiritual domination of the commercial and professional classes. I do not mean that they alone compose its membership; but they furnish its chief support, do its work, and their ethics and views of life determine the thought of the Church more than we realize.

When the Christian business man is presented as a model Christian, working people are coming to look with suspicion on these samples of our Christianity. I am not justifying that, but simply stating the fact. They disapprove of the Christianity of the churches, not because it is too good, but because it is not good enough. The working people are now developing the principle and practice of solidarity, which promises to be one of the most potent ethical forces of the future, and which is essentially more Christian than the covetousness and selfishness which we regard as the indispensable basis of commerce. If this is a correct diagnosis of our condition, it is strange that the Church is unable to evangelize a class alienated from it by divergent class interest and class morality?

Let us sum up. The powerlessness of the old evangelism is only the most striking and painful demonstration of the general state of the churches. Its cause is not local nor temporary. It does not lie in lack of hard work or of prayer or of keen anxiety. It lies in the fact that modern life has gone through immense changes and the church has not kept pace with it in developing the latent moral and spiritual resources of the Gospel which are needed by the new life. It has most slighted that part of the Gospel which our times most need.

The people are becoming daily more sensitive to the class cleavage of society. The Church suffers under the general resentment against the class with which it is largely identified. To this must be added the fact that the spirit of free inquiry engendered by modern science neutralizes the dogmatic authority with which the Church has been accustomed to speak.

A compelling evangel for the working class will be wrought out only by men who love that class, share its life, understand the ideals for which it is groping, penetrate those ideals with the religious spirit of Christianity, and then proclaim a message in which the working people will find their highest self. They will never be reached by a middle class gospel preached down at them with the consciousness of superiority.

We must open our minds to the spirit of Jesus in its primitive, uncorrupted and still unexhausted power. That spirit is the fountain of youth for the Church. As a human organization it grows old and decrepit like every other human organism. But again and again it has been rejuvenated by a new baptism in that Spirit. We must also keep our vision clear to the life of our own time. Our age is as sublime as any in the past. It has a right to its own appropriation and understanding of the gospel. By the decay of the old, God himself is forcing us on to seek the new and higher.

See page 7 for prize proposition. Comrades, put your shoulder to the wheel and help push.

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THE REASON FOR IT

It is our desire to establish a periodical which shall give to Socialism its distinctively Christian expression; for only the Christian Socialist can realize what tremendous ethical and religious elements Socialism contains.

While proceeding from a strictly scientific basis, recognizing the fundamental importance of the doctrine of economic determinism in the philosophy of Socialism, we shall particularly emphasize its moral and spiritual phases with relation to the Gospel of Christ and the members of His Church.

In fact, this journal is not intended so much for circulation among Socialists as for circulation by Christian Socialists and those who sympathize with Christian Socialism, among ministers, teachers and members of the various churches, who are not Socialists, for three reasons:

1. Socialism is, at its truest and best, in harmony with Christ's teachings and spirit, and its progress will be immensely helped by a general understanding of this fact; while the ultimate success of Christianity itself depends upon its acceptance of Socialism as its most practical method. True Christianity must become the life of Socialism; true Socialism must become the form of the Christian state.

2. There are several million Christian voters, a majority of whom must be converted to Socialism before it will find success at the polls, and we desire to show them that true Socialism is not only unopposed to real Christianity but in perfect harmony with it.

3. Thousands of these Christian workers are already studying sociology with great interest; they are becoming exceedingly restless under present conditions, and a fair and intelligent presentation of the principles and facts of Socialism, free from anti-Christian sentiments, will win them to its support. Therefore our effort is not only sublimely sentimental, if the reader please, but one of the most practical efforts yet put forth for the spread of Socialism.

And we earnestly request everyone who is in sympathy with the Christian phases and possibilities of Socialism to help circulate this paper. Send us names of hopeful people to whom we may send sample copies. Get up a club among the Christians of your church or community, and order a bundle of papers occasionally at one cent each for free distribution among your religious acquaintances.

E. E. C.

AN EPISCOPAL MINISTER'S VIEW OF "MASS AND CLASS"

(Every reader should send us $1.25 for this great book. It deserves universal consideration.)

Wilmington, Deleware.

My Dear Mr. Ghent:— I have just laid down your book "Mass and Class." I have been long waiting opportunity to read it, have long had it upon my table, and my regret is, since reading it, that it was not read months ago. I happen to be a "Social Servant"—a minister of the Episcopal church, and my daily endeavor for some years—after my "conversion" with its vision so marvelously set out in your book—has been to scorn and spurn from my pulpit, the "retainer" notion of the Ministry, and to exalt the "social servant" notion as the only notion in the remotest way consistent with a manhood that takes its inspiration from Jesus the Great Carpenter and greatest lover of his kind. I am glad to note along the course of your truly TERRIBLE arraignment of the Trader Class and its retainers so fine a judgment that condemns always with discrimination. Not all of us are blind, and most of us are honest (persons, I speak of), and some of us see through the toiler's eyes and suffer with them, and some of us say what we believe week in and week out regardless of consequences to ourselves and ours. I stand every Sunday to face a congregation composed largely of "Captains of Industry" two of whom—vestrymen both—remarked of Mr. John Mitchell whom I chanced to praise, "He ought to be hung!" For these two godly men no slander upon Mr. Mitchell was too base to be believed, and no accusation to dark to be credited.

Somehow I have the feeling that your book will not draw from men of my calling the response and the encouragement that is its natural need. We all read—but most of us read narrowly, and most of us think but the majority are, I fear thinking along grooves that are far from the base of things. For some of us there burns a "fire in the bones" and we "cannot contain": to be silent is to forego character and self-respect. Accept my very deep gratitude for your noble—your keen, incisive, terse arraignment of the Powers that Prey, nay of the present order itself; and for your brave analysis of difficulties; and for your grounding it all upon a sound philosophy; and for your connecting it all with history and the round sum of life. I am permanently your debtor, and I feel that I can battle the harder for the downmost man, and the more hopefully because of your book and you.

Believe me, Sir, with gratitude, ever faithfully yours,

HUBERT H. WELLS,
Rector St. Andrew's Church.

Rectory of St. Andrew's Church, Wilmington, Del.

My Dear Mr. Ghent:—Your are too busy a man to think of responding in any personal way to the appreciative letters that are coming to you daily; they must grow in number day by day. And I had looked for no answer to my poor little note. I am again your debtor for your noticing it in your own hand.

Make any use of my letter that you care to make. As to my signature—I am not sensitive about the faith that is in me. Whether the signature is appended or not I leave wholly to your discretion. I am surprised that any use can be made of it that is worth while.

I am in close touch with very many persons of my own little "corner" of the great Church. The majority is swallowed up and lost in what I call the two destroying scepticisms—the scepticisms of the Future, and the scepticism of the Elsewhere. All that is good and significant, as they see it, is to come by and by and far away. Perhaps a third scepticism has hold of them—the scepticism of the Finality—that we are in the "last times," that nothing lies before us materially different from what we already possess, that any thought of greatly changing the social scheme of things is desperate and not worth while. Nevertheless, there is a minority, and that composed of the studious, thoughtful, and earnest men that have the Greatest Man's love of their kind, that devotes no little attention to the hideousness of the current status and to finding some sort of philosophy to better it. Don't despair of us. If men of your sort don't despair of us perhaps we shall not despair of ourselves Time was when the Church stood close to the life of the people to champion it against oppression. With all the darkness of the monastery it very substantially lived the life of the people both to instruct that life in fundamental operations, such as tillage, and to care for it when it suffered. I believe that the time approaches when the Church shall again, and in a measure hitherto unexperienced and undreamed, live the life of the people. There are some of us that try to live it now. The opportunity to live it grows apace, and when it is easily evident I believe that strong men in the Ministry will set the standard and the example and that lesser men will follow. But I must spare you more.

You could greatly help me by a little advice from your experience; I would like to know the names of three or four of the very best papers devoted to the interest of the "Proletariat." I know no one whose knowledge and fairness I could trust in this matter.

I am with a very deep sense of gratitude to you for your remarkable book—and for your kind letter.

Faithfully yours, my dear Sir,

HUBERT H. WELLS.

An Appeal to the Churches by Socialist Christians

BY WILLIAM WHATELY

(A paper read at the mid-winter meeting of the Brotherhood of the Kingdom, held at Amity Hall, New York City, February 7th, 1905.)

It is time, brethren, in our judgment, that a voice, however humble, be raised and a clear word be spoken, on the one great and inexorable question now confronting the churches.

Jesus Christ sacrificed all for the sake of the poor; he was of one mind with the workers, sharing their indignations and their aspirations. But now, the handworkers, the poor, are turning from the Christian churches because they, the poor, have an indignation, profound and unchanging, which the churches do not share.

The ethical sense begins with indignation: We first disapprove of wrong done us by others and later learn to condemn a like wrong done by ourselves. Therefore, the indignation felt by the poor, the sense of their unjust treatment by the classes in possession of the means of production, is the first stage in a distinctive moral sense, a social conscience. And the churches have to choose between the notion of right they have heretofore accepted as regards the ownership of the fruits of labor, and the notion of right now emerging in the consciousness of the workers as regards such ownership.

The notion of right heretofore dominant is individualist. It makes the enforcement of contract the sum total of justice, and finds in fulfilled contract a sufficient moral title to ownership,—ownership of the things to be consumed as well as of the plant of production, including the land. The new notion, on the other hand, is social; from the point of view of the old it is revolutionary; it goes to the root of the contract and inquires into the conditions of the origin of each and every bargain; it holds that economic duress morally nullifies contracts into which such duress has entered, that he who makes, for labor or commodity, a bargain based on the need or ignorance of the other party, has no moral right to the fruits of such bargain, and that the acquiring of property by such contracts is robbery. It holds, that in social work, all engaged are partners; and that strict justice requires that partners share alike in the product, according to their effort put forth, and not according to their capacity or shrewdness.

It is apparent that the new doctrine agrees with the principles laid down by Jesus Christ,—with the commands "Love thy neighbor as thyself" and "Do to others as ye would that they should do to you;" while the old doctrine ignores these commands and all the defences thrown around the dull and unsophisticated by the humane teaching of the Master.

There is a new philosophy of history which says that it is a distinctive trait of human nature that whatsoever belief would, if held by a man, cut off or much reduce his income, such belief that man cannot come to hold; that his mind will halt unconsciously in the course of reasoning which would bring it to such belief; that this rule has but few individual exceptions; and that, as ministers must have incomes, and as the incomes are at the disposal of the propertied, and as the holding of a belief hateful to the propertied would forfeit such incomes—it is impossible for the Christian ministry to perceive that the poor are right in the present issue.

Doubtless this cheerless conclusion would be warranted if it were not that there is a real and compelling power in the personal devotion to Jesus Christ, strong enough to meet on its own plane the law of the compulsion of physical need. The present crisis is a day of judgment for the ministry and will sift out those in whom the devotion to Jesus Christ is a real power from those in whom it is a surface sentiment.

The key to the deliverance of the captive church is in the hands of the laity; and therefore to you, brethren, to you who are business men, professional men, farmers, we now make our appeal. Religion was ever strenuous in its demands; and though for a generation past it has seemed an easy thing to be religious, a thing requiring no sacrifice beyond the slight discipline enforced by respectability, that time of respite is gone by and the day for the hard choice between Christ and the world has come again. The appeal we are making to you is not light in its demands. It calls upon you for three distinct sacrifices, and these are: first, to give up your incomes—in your minds at least—; to hold that these incomes, being really social in their sources are to be devoted to social ends, reserving only what you and your families truly need.

Second, and this demand is directed practically to business men only, you are called upon to make a still harder sacrifice by abolishing the money-making scheme itself; to join heartily in the enterprise to so organize social production and distribution as to eliminate profit, interest and rent, and to take away from the shrewd all personal advantage, spreading the benefit of their acuteness among all the workers. It ought to be remarked that this sacrifice, though full of pain at the outset, though a veritable crucifixion of the old man, must ultimately turn to sweetness; that the gratitude, honor and distinction which your services to the mass of workers will call forth, will give you back all the satisfaction, and a thousand-fold more, which your abilities and acquired wealth have brought you.

The third demand lies upon the conscience of the professional man as well as of the business man, and it is possibly the hardest of all; it is to give up the pride of mental superiority, to take the new lesson of truth from the humble minds of the unlearned, to yield to the instinct of the poor as the divine guide to justice. Here, again, the sacrifice, though real and intense, will infallibly bring the greatest of mental blessings, the sense of having arrived at the truth and of being at peace therein.

The church is in eclipse, both intellectually and morally. Strangely, there appears to be something better now existing than the standard of the church. There is a perception of new truth which the church blinks at; there is a new ideal which the church hesitates over. Every day makes the matter worse, driving more and more of the choicest minds out of the possibility of church fellowship. We who appeal to you, brethren, deplore this movement; we hold it an immense damage to men that they should forsake public worship, and our faith in the inmost heart of the church stands so strong that we are sure she will break loose from her captivity and once more lift up the standard of Christ. We believe that out of of the hidden vitality of the church a new Isaiah will spring forth, bearing a prophet's message for today, and speaking with authority such words as these: Thus saith the Lord "Is it such a communion that I have chosen? To eat a bit of bread in my name, and to drink a cup of wine in my name? Is not this the communion that I have chosen? To share alike, man with man, the burden of useful labor; and to share alike, brother with brother, the fruits of such labor. For the table of the people is My table."

When such a message comes to be spoken, with the fire and force of the prophet, will it find acceptance in the churches? A doubtful question, yet upon it surely hangs the possibility of the Great Revival so long desired. The people are groping for ethical standards in the economic practice of the community; and the religious instinct, once awake and questioning fundamentals, can find no rest except in final solutions. Nothing short of a general conviction that the churches have the truth and will stand by it can put the minds of the people into a receptive state for a tidal wave of religious enthusiasm. Half-way pronouncements will do no good; the churches must plant themselves heartily by the standard of full social justice; then only can they with candor call a willing people to an uprising of sacred fervor. That such may be the event is our heart's desire and hope to God.

THE CAPTIVE CITY

Note by Reverend Leighton Williams, of Amity Baptist Church, New York, in regard to Mr. Richard Heath, author of "The Captive City of God:"

"Mr. Richard Heath is a layman, a man now over seventy years of age, residing with his unmarried daughter in a little cottage on the Limpsfield Chart, about twenty miles south of London. I visited him twice this summer. He is a member of the Baptist denomination, but now rarely attends church anywhere and finds himself much alone, his Christian opinions putting him out of sympathy with the majority of Socialists and his social opinions making him unpopular with most church people. He has, however, a large acquaintance with all classes of people and is very highly respected. He is a literary man and has written a number of books and articles for periodicals,—the latter mostly appear in "The Contemporary Review." Among his close personal friends are Prince Kropotkine, Elise Reclus, and others. Mr. Heath has been a friend of mine for eight years or more and has taken a deep interest in our Brotherhood of the Kingdom, of which he is a corresponding member and the founder of the English Brotherhood, which, however, has lapsed into an inactive state. Mr. Heath is in poor circumstances, and I should like a sale for his book with the hope of giving him some aid in that direction, as well as for its own intrinsic worth."

This is the ablest book on Christian Socialism.
Order of the Christian Socialist. $1:00.

DEPRECIATED DOLLARS No. II

By W. B. Gallaher

When the Republican party formerly talked of Bryan's "Fifty Cent" dollars, they little thought that there was soon coming a great body of thinking and intelligent men who would discover and publish to the people the startling fact that the capitalist system and order of things, through the profit-taking which must come out of every dollar in the purchase both of the necessaries and the luxuries of life, reduces the real purchasing power of any legal dollar to even less than 20 cents. The statistics of Labor Commissioner Carroll D. Wright show that the workingman gets in wages only about 16 per cent of the value of his product.

Let us say in round numbers that the laborer gets in wages 20 cents worth of the value of each dollar's worth of what he produces. The balance, 80 cents, covers the employer's and go-betweens' expenses and profits per dollar in the manufacture and sale of what the labor of employes produces. The consumer pays these expenses and profits out of every so-called dollar's worth of his purchases, leaving only 20 cents as his own property in his—we cannot say, "own"—dollar, for four-fifths of it really belongs, under capitalism, to the profit-taking capitalist class.

Capitalists agreed, in the Bryan free silver days, that free silver would give us a dollar with a fifty-cent purchasing power.

Intelligent Socialists now know that if free silver would have given us a dollar with a fifty-cent purchasing power, it would have given the people a dollar with thirty cents more purchasing power in it, than there is in the gold-standard dollar, with 80 cents to pay the expenses and profits of the capitalist class.

But the fact is that neither free silver nor any other form of money can give us a dollar with even a fifty cent, to say nothing of a hundred cent, purchasing power, so long as the capitalist profit-taking system remains in force, gouging 80 cents out of each dollar to pay manufacturing and mercantile expenses and profits, and leaving only 20 cents of the dollar to the real owner—one-fifth to the producer, four-fifths to the exploiters.

With these facts before us it is self-evident that only under Socialism, which would destroy the whole profit-taking system, is it possible for every dollar, as represented by a labor check or draft, to have a full one hundred cent purchasing power, profits being entirely eliminated in all purchases made with such checks, which would represent each person's equal share of the common co-operative production of all, which share the most conservative estimates make not less than $2,500 per year for each person.

From a Letter of James Russell Lowell Written When 27 Years Old

"My calling is clear to me. I am never lifted up to any peak of vision—and moments of almost fearful inward illumination I have sometimes—but that, when I look down in hope to see some valley of the Beautiful Mountains, I behold nothing but blackened ruins; and the moans of the down-trodden the world over—but chiefly here in our own land—come up to my ear, instead of the happy songs of husbandmen reaping and bringing the sheaves of light; yet these, too, I hear not seldom. Then I feel how great is the office of poet could I but even dare to hope to fill it. Then it seems as if my heart would break in pouring out one glorious song that should be the gospel of Reform, full of consolation and strength to the oppressed, yet falling gently and restoringly on the withered youth-flowers of the oppressor."

ANCIENT SCRIPTURES TIMELY NOW

"Thus saith the Lord: For three transgressions of Israel, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they sold the righteous for silver, and the poor for a pair of shoes; they pant after the dust of the earth on the head of the poor, and turn aside the way of the meek."

"Ye commanded the prophets, saying, Prophesy not. Therefore the flight shall perish from the swift, and the strong shall not strengthen his force, neither shall the mighty deliver himself."

"Your treading is upon the poor, and ye take from him burdens of wheat. I know your manifold transgressions and your mighty sins; ye afflict the poor, ye take a bribe and ye turn aside the poor in the gate."

"I hate, I despise your feast-days and your solemn assemblies. Take away from me the noise of your songs; for I will not hear the melody of your viols. But let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream."

THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE

The above book by Walter Thomas Mills reaches us loaded down with the praises of all the leading Socialists of America. We shall review it later.

Twenty years ago Prof. Mills wrote a book on political science concerning which the Western Christian Advocate voiced the general sentiment when it said: "It is one of the ablest books ever written on the subject." After 60,000 copies had been sold and the sale was constantly increasing, Prof. Mills bought up the plates and stopped the sale of it because, meanwhile, he had made such progress in economic study that the book only partially represented him. After many years of study, observation and experience, he now puts forth the ripe fruit of a life's work in "The Struggle for Existence." We quote a few comments:

Seymour Stedman says: "I have read your book, 'The Struggle for Existence,' and it is a work which I confidently recommend to all persons interested in economics. It is adaptable alike to the student and the novice and is thoroughly scientific. It is the best book in the field."

Judge Bennett of Denver, Colo., says: "It will make a great mark in the World; it will convince any one who will read it, and it is readable; It will become a text book in the public schools."

Eugene V. Debs says: "No living man can better speak just exactly the right word at the right time than Walter Thomas Mills, and no where has he done this so well as in his new book, 'The Struggle for Existence.' I shall promote its circulation in every way I can."

Ernest Untermann says: "Your book is a pleasant surprise to me both in make-up and contents. Its simple language, its concise and scientific exposition of the various phases of social evolution and its logical continuity make it eminently valuable for propaganda and at the same time furnish much food for the mental progress of the Socialist student. The book will no doubt become the text book of American Socialism. I shall recommend it to readers inside and outside the Socialist party."

For sale at this office, $2.50. Special prices in lots of ten or more.

* * *

A Comrade writes: "I am in the drug business and must necessarily handle some liquors, but you will never offend me by hitting the liquor curse as hard as you can."

* * *

Do not think yourself educated if you cannot keep your temper, if you have not learned to be kind and to bear patiently with the faults of others. It is a good thing to be able to construct a Latin sentence or work a difficult problem in algebra, but how trifling such things are compared with training in gentleness and courtesy and manhood! Unless the heart is educated, as well as the head, your education is only begun.—Labor Leader.

* * *

The International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam, Holland, requested that Socialists and their press call attention of the workers to the dangers of alcohol beverages with even greater insistence than ever before. There is no question but that alcoholic drink is one of the most potent influences for capitalism, and to win the struggle for industrial liberty is going to require clear heads. We all know that under Socialism the saloon will be a thing of the past, and that in one or two generations drunkenness will disappear; but for the present we should keep clear heads, strong minds and hope for a brighter future. There are passions more intense than the craving for stimulants if they can be aroused.—Appeal to Reason.

THE HAPPY SINGER.

I.

He just kept on a-singin' when the shadows hid the sky:
"Bright lamps a-shinin' in the windows up on high:
Love will kiss the lilies in the gardens by-an'-by,
An' we'll rest in the beauty of the mornin'!"

II.

Had his share of sorrow; but with faith forever strong
He saw, amid the red thorns, all the sweetest roses throng;
Evermore the music of that loved, world-reaching song:
"We'll rest in the beauty of the morning!"

III.

O, it charmed away their sorrows in the valley of despair—
The crosses that were bitter up Life's Calvary to bear;
And the sweetest benedictions touched the singin' spirit there,
Resting in the beauty of the mornin'!

Frank L. Stanton.

Knights of the Cross

The New Crusade is Not for the Rescue of the Tomb of Christ from the Hands of Moslem Infidels, but for the Rescue of His Glorious Gospel from the Whited Sepulchre of Modern Capitalism, which is the Worst Infidelity of All Time For This We will Bear Our Cross and Wage Unceasing Warfare

A comrade has paid for two thousand five hundred extras of this issue to send as samples. If you get one of them, it is an invitation to subscribe. Do it now.

Other comrades can do much good by sending samples of this paper to those who might be interested. Owing to our limited resources we cannot send out many samples unless some one pays for them. We have many lists of names and no money with which to sent the samples. Can you aid in this matter?

Only a few comrades have yet entered the $100 contest. Wake up brothers, and get into the business.

A PRIZE PROPOSITION

The regular agents of the Christian Socialist, receive 20 per cent commission, which is the best we can possibly do and print on book paper, without increasing the price to subscribers. All who desire may continue on this basis.

But we have decided to issue special subscription blanks for ONE THOUSAND NEW SUBSCRIBERS and give FOUR CASH PRIZES to the four persons who receive the highest number of subscriptions out of the thousand.

The First Prize will be $40.00, the Second $30.00, the Third $20.00 and the Fourth $10.00, making $100.00 in all—which is "all the traffic will bear."

BEFORE ANY PRIZE IS DUE THE ENTIRE THOUSAND NEW SUBSCRIBERS MUST BE OBTAINED. If 500 people send in clubs, two subscribers each will do it. If 250 get up clubs, four each will do it. If only 100 people try, the average number of subscribers will be but ten. It is probable that a club of fifteen or twenty subscribers will win any one of these prizes. When the entire one thousand subscriptions are obtained all four of the prizes will be paid.

Who will be the first to send for one of these special prize subscription blanks? They will be duly numbered and a record kept of them as they go out and come in. You may get subscriptions now, but do not send them in till you receive your special blanks, as no subscription will be credited on the contest unless they are sent in on the special blanks.

This is an easy task, and should be finished in a very short while. Any man or woman, any boy or girl, who will try, has an excellent opportunity to obtain one of these prizes. Those who enter this contest must of course waive their 20 per cent commission for the chance of a prize. Those who prefer the regular commission will not use these special blanks. Take your choice, but send in clubs.

Union labor has once more been shamefully betrayed by its leaders. The Subway strike in New York was being won until the general officers repudiated the strike. And when the men went to hunt for August Belmont, President of the Subway Company and President of the "far-famed" Civic Federation, he had "Just left town" and could not be found.

Workingmen, organized capital will beat you if you depend on the strike alone. Use the ballot AND the strike, as your brothers in Europe are learning to do, then you will win.

What is the use of your ballot unless you vote as you strike?

Get your Branch to order a big bundle of the Saloon extra for distribution among church people. If they will not, do it yourself; for there is no better propaganda for use among the church people. One cent each in small bundles. ONE-HALF CENT EACH if you send $1.00 or more.

TURNING THE WORLD UPSIDE DOWN

(*Continued from Page 2*)

These will be gradually clarified and shaped, not by some mysterious inspiration, but the moulding of irresistable forces. In the eyes of our NewEngland fathers chattle slavery was first unprofitable then it was inhuman; finally it came to be held as morally wrong. Thus even ethical ideals grow; at least those who hold them grow up to a higher, broader level of life.

These ideals will rise higher and higher until they reach a point where all the interests of the race can best be served. Socialism and the modern church can never be co-operative forces, since the church has its basis and chief support in competitive life. While the ideals of Socialist life are no where at variance with the doctrines of clean-cut Christianity, it is an all-important fact that Socialism's field of work is clearly outside and beyond the working field of the modern church.

We find that the ethical ideals of the past have rested upon a personal salvation in the future world. If at any time these ideals have gone beyond this it has always been in subordination to this one thought. For this the Romanist pays his money, openly and above board: with him it is simply so much, for so much. Protestantism is really doing very little else. The new ideal looks to the present with all its grand possibilities. The old ideal was found in the elevation of the individual with a constant reference to that measurably unknown and untried future. THE NEW IDEAL IS FOUND IN THE ELEVATION AND PURIFICATION OF THE RACE HERE AND NOW. The old ideal of a religious life centered in the drawing of the man or woman out of the gutter. The new ideal would remove the causes that lead to the gutter. This ideal in one form or another runs through and covers every conceivable relation which man now holds or may ever hold to his fellow.

Broadly stated the old ideal of all religion in the past has been the care of immortal self. THE NEW IDEAL IS THE WELL-BEING OF THE RACE, and that first of all in the NOW.

OUR DREAMS

BY BENJAMIN C. MOOMAW

If I had countless store of gold
The poor would find in me a friend;
And cosy comfort should enfold,
And opportunity attend,
The homeless waif, the orphaned youth;
The sorrows of declining age
'Twould be my happiness to soothe;
'Twould be my glory to assuage
The universal tides of pain;
Abroad on every generous sail,
To lands beyond the swelling main
Where sin and misery prevail,
I'd send the ministry of peace;
The Grand Old Story should be told;
The world-wide agony should cease,
If I had countless store of gold.

Had genius stored her sacred fire
Within the temple of my soul,
And widened unto all desire—
As the wide world from pole to pole,
As the wide heavens from star to star—
The portals of her earthly fane,
And left the lofty gates ajar,
I'd pour into the world a strain
Of glorious melody. I'd wake
The echoes of celestial song.
And eloquent appeal I'd make
To stem the evil, right the wrong;
Disband the horrid ranks of war;
And win the nations to aspire
To love and brotherhood, afar,—
Had genius lent her heavenly fire.

Thus do we dream what we would be
On some high pedestal of power,
And miss perhaps the destiny
Which may attend the humble dower
Of the one talent, lent of heaven;
Or yet our very modest store.
For unto LOVE the Lord has given,
Not for a day, but evermore,
The secret of his boundless might;
And out of little things may Love
Build all the miracles of light,
And link the Earth to heaven above,
Not dreamings but our deeds fulfill,
When Love's bright banner is unfurled,
The sweet obedience of her will
In all the empire of the world.

Ben, Va.